The Woman's Protest

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Fallacies of Woman Suffrage Exposed

Michigan Women Fight Against Suffrage

Women in Politics a Menace to Nation

Declining Vote of Women

The Coward's Christmas

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ARGUMENTS FOR SUFFRAGE WEIGHED AND FOUND WANTING IN LOGIC AND JUSTICE

ARGUMENTS ANALYZED

1.—Suffragists claim that all persons have a natural right to vote, irrespective of fitness.

This is mere assertion utterly inconsistent with the history of the past, and with present conditions.

2.—Suffragists claim that women should vote because they are taxed; that taxation and representation ought to go together.

There was probably never a country in which only persons who had a vote were taxed.... The equivalent of taxation is protection of life, liberty and property, and in this respect the laws favor women as much as men.

3.—Suffragists claim that women suffer from unjust laws.

If this is so, the remedy is for women who feel this to point it out and every legislature will be ready to correct such injustice.

4.—Suffragists claim that suffrage would give women new fields of employment and higher wages.

For many years all the professions and every kind of business has been open to women as freely as men.... Spite of all laws to the contrary the tendency will always be to make labor payable according to its efficiency.

5.—Suffragists claim that suffrage would make better governments and a better society.

Women will naturally vote with their male relations. If a part of the men and a majority of the women united in what were thought better laws there would be an increase in one of the greatest tendencies of our time, the multiplication of laws which cannot be enforced.

6.—Suffragists claim that the change is sure to come.

Unfounded boasts of sure success are the staple on which demagogues have fed their deluded victims in all ages. But success or failure is not the question which should be most considered in contemplating a vital change in government. Upright men will consider chiefly the effect of the change.

THIS SUBJECT is attracting of late a good deal of attention in the United States and England. This interest seems to come from the demands of a comparatively few women who make up for the lack of numbers by persistent pushing of their claims, and in England by acts of violence.

There is no evidence that the mass of women desire the suffrage. The probabilities are the reverse. What is the purpose of these agitators? Mainly, I think, the wish for a more conspicuous field of action, the desire to show themselves the equals of men, hatred of what they think their inferiority. Like ambitions are common with men of all classes. I do not think women are to be blamed for them. But suffrage would not satisfy their wishes. The lowest resident of the worst slums may be a voter, and this vote will count the same as that of the most respected man. A vote gives such a man no distinction, no elevation of character. Somebody seeking office may try to win his vote by flattery, or by a bribe, but surely he is not the better for this. It is not such a distinction that woman suffragists are seeking. What they want is the power to engage in politics, or get office, to become presidents and governors and judges, the power to divide with men all the functions of government.

In this view the question is a very serious one, and involves perhaps a more fundamental change in government than has heretofore been made. The present voter, on whom such a change depends, ought to realize the seriousness, and not to grant a power so far reaching from mere good nature, because their female friends urge it, and it is easier to give way than to resist. The most careful thought of the ultimate consequence ought to be given the subject.

I do not suppose that female suffrage would at once effect a great change in government, but the goal which the suffragists are seeking might make a change most far-reaching.

Some of the arguments urged in favor of this extension of suffrage are these:

1. It is said that all persons have a natural right to vote, irrespective of their fitness. This is mere assertion utterly inconsistent with the history of the past, and with present conditions.

In the past, individuals have established their right to govern mainly through force. Government has been a necessity, in order that a state may act effectively, against foreign enemies, and may preserve order and life and property at home. Power has been perpetuated in families to avoid the great commotions which would result if the succession of power at every death had to be determined by force. Government has been extended from the absolute monarch to the aristocracy, and then to the people generally, through the increase of power in these classes. Power established by force has brought to its aid through custom the notion of divine right, which once was attributed to kings, and now with just as little reason is attributed to majorities. Custom has also brought to the aid

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

The Editor of this magazine spent two days in January in Grand Rapids, Mich. During that time she was interviewed by representatives from two papers. Her statements were misunderstood and she takes this opportunity to correct them.

The Grand Rapids Herald headed the interview:

"Mrs. Dodge Says That the Women of Grand Rapids Do Not Dare to Call Their Souls Their Own."

In reply to this the following letter was sent:

To the Editor of the Herald:

In a clipping which has been sent to me from your paper of January fourth, it was stated that I said in an interview, that the women of Grand Rapids "did not dare to call their souls their own," on the subject of Woman Suffrage.

I wish to deny emphatically that I said anything that could be construed as directly or indirectly expressing this opinion. On the contrary, I found the women in the audiences to which I spoke unusually responsive and interested in the question.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,
President of the National Association
Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

The only time the women engaged in gainful pursuits, including the women in domestic service, were mentioned, was in an interview with a reporter who was apparently a Suffragist and who did not take any notes of the conversation, but wrote her article from memory. In it the following quotation was made:

"There are 7,000,000 women engaged in what is called gainful pursuits in the United States. Forty per cent of these are in domestic service and of the remaining number 40 per cent are under the voting age. Think of the absurdity of women in domestic service having the responsibility of the ballot. It is absolutely ridiculous. Perhaps they think they, too, can obtain shorter hours and better pay if the State gives them the right to vote."

The real statement was that the force of the contention that the 7,000,000 women engaged in gainful pursuits were going to be benefitted by having the ballot was lessened when the fact was known that 40 per cent of this number were employed in domestic service and that no arguments had yet been presented that showed that their hours needed to be shortened or their wages raised so far as the majority of them was concerned. No reference whatever was made to the intelligence of domestic servants as voters. Doubtless most of the women so employed would make as intelligent voters as their employers.

MORAL TRAINING A BETTER PREVENTIVE THAN THE VOTE

Reginald Wright Kauffman, whose stories of White Slavery would lead any logical mind to the conclusion that wrong home training or no home training at all, no supervision and no moral instruction was at the root of most of the awful conditions which prevail, now advocates votes for white slaves with the high-sounding sentence: "Better the slaves than the slavers!" But is Mr. Kauffman really so completely unaware of what moral enslavement means, the tyranny of one will over another, that he thinks the White Slave could vote for her own interest and not for the interest of her master? His books would not lead one to believe that he thinks this. Mr. Kauffman knows well enough the regenerating influences which are necessary to build up the enslaved will of a girl who has perhaps never known the freedom of innocence and who had a master before she was even mature. With all due respect for Mr. Kauffman's large experience and serious intention, does he really ask us women to believe that a white slave has moral freedom and could vote as she liked? If so, she is not a slave, for no law gives her to any man as a chattel. She is bound only through ignorance, through weakened conscience, or through material necessity. To ask us to believe that people in this condition can be independent voters is straining our credulity too far. It is a preposterous and absurd suggestion. If Mr. Kauffman will study his own books with a "mind cleared of cant," he will see that most girls of the lower and middle classes, and of the upper classes, too, are insufficiently protected and insufficiently trained morally and religiously to meet the dangers with which they are surrounded. The Suffragists are advocating more freedom, are undermining in every way possible the authority of parents and husbands. They think a vote in the hands of these poor neglected girls can save them. On the contrary, it can only increase their chattel value to their masters. If they are beaten now for resistance, what will happen to those who vote against the interest of their tyrants?

One has only to renew one's acquaintance with Bill Sykes and Nancy to imagine the whole scene. Unless good women can practically help these poor girls (and prevention is better than cure) it would be better not to put a dangerous weapon in their hands, which will most likely react on themselves.

Probably the White Slave Bill just passed in England by a Parliament in which no woman sits will be found more efficacious than votes for women in preventing this hideous traffic. Unless women stay the hands of men with sentimental appeals, white slavers will hereafter feel the utmost physical rigor of the law, but it will, as it always does, depend on men to enforce this law and undertake the primary effort of separating these beasts of prey from their victims. The woman's part will be to receive, cherish and sustain as it always has been. An endeavor to alter these functions will not be successful and women's votes do not hasten events as is proved by the fact that Suffrage States have no such White Slave Law as England has just passed without opposition through both Houses.

What earthly difference has the ballot made to Mormon women? If the mind is not free, no vote can make it free. The law is already against polygamy, but these women do not know their rights, nor realize their degradation. What is needed is missionaries, not Suffragists. J. T. W.

MICHIGAN ORGANIZED.

The Michigan association opposed to Woman Suffrage has been organized in Detroit, and a full list of officers and executive committee will be announced later. In ten days 430 signatures of members were secured, including many prominent women well known in educational and philanthropic work.

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of power deep notions of justice, sometimes as influential as power.

The practice of the most popular governments is absolutely inconsistent with the theory that any individual has an absolute right to the suffrage.

England governs India in most matters without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants. The United States governs the Philippines, though that people do not appear to wish our government. The negroes in some southern states have been deprived of their votes with the tacit approval of all parties at the north. Chinamen are not allowed to vote anywhere. Other foreigners can vote only after naturalization. It is almost universally believed that stable popular government is possible in only a few countries. But if the right to participate in government exists without reference to the results, the most barbarous individuals of Africa and Asia should be given the suffrage. To vote is to participate in governmental power. Such power has no moral basis, save in its usefulness, and only those should participate in it who will make government better for their participation.

2. It is said that women should vote because they are taxed, that taxation and representation ought to go together. This argument appears to some to have much strength, because the revolution by which American independence was gained was justified on the ground that the colonists were taxed by a parliament in which they had no representation.

But there was probably never a country in which only persons who had a vote were taxed. The most that can be claimed is that every class having diverse interests ought to be represented in the government. Women have no interests diverse from men. They are well represented by their fathers, husbands and brothers, who in the United States at least protect rather than oppress women as a class.

The equivalent of taxation is protection of life, liberty and property, and in these respects the laws favor women as much as men.

If no one could be taxed save as he was represented in the taxing power, no idiot, or minor, or unnaturalized foreigner could be taxed. No Chinamen or negroes deprived of the suffrage could be taxed. And no man could be taxed save in the district where he could vote, though he might hold property in every city and town in the United States.

3. It is claimed that women suffer from unjust laws. If this is so, the remedy is for the women who feel this to point out where the laws are unjust, and every legislature will be ready to correct such injustice. At least, this remedy ought to be tried before any other.

4. It is maintained that suffrage would give women new fields of employment, and higher wages.

The only employment from which they are now excluded by law is that under government, and this only partially, for many women are in public offices as subordinates.

Would women be able to compete with men in seeking the higher government positions?

For many years, all the professions, and every kind of business has been open to woman as freely as man.

How have they succeeded? The law is the most closely connected with the government. I think no woman has made a great success as a lawyer. There are very few in the profession. Women have and long have had the power to write on political questions and speak at political meetings. What has been their success?

In medicine women have special advantages in treating their own sex. How many women have succeeded as physicians? How many are first-class manufacturers or merchants? Many women have become teachers. Many have entered the shops and offices as saleswomen, stenographers, and the like. Is it too much to say that they have received their employments because they are cheaper than men, not better? And continual complaint is made that women are working in stores and manufacturing establishments at less than a living wage, and that in consequence they are almost driven to vice.

This increase of new employments for women has caused an exodus out of the ranks of domestic service until it is almost impossible for people of moderate means with families to obtain household assistance, and they are driven to hotels and boarding houses. Women who have to work for others prefer stores and offices at starvation prices, when they might engage in domestic service with more comfortable quarters and higher wages than were ever known before. Is this change a public good? In the light of these facts, would the extension of the sphere of women to all government positions be likely to be for their benefit as a class? Would government employment tend to raise the wages of women generally? The number employed by the public would always be insignificant, compared with those in private service, and the power to vote could at the most affect only the former, and their wages would be raised only by the direct or indirect bribery of the voters.

Spite of all laws to the contrary, spite of all combinations of labor unions, the tendency will always be to make labor payable according to its efficiency, and according to the number competing. If women are to compete successfully with men, they must confine themselves to those departments where they are men's equals, and where their own competition will not reduce their wages.

5. It is claimed that woman suffrage would make better governments and a better society. This is a question of fact and our experience in states having such suffrage is not sufficient to cause any agreement among unprejudiced observers. The opinions of most men in political life are worth nothing. Their trade is to flatter the voters, and no man seeking office will offend one of his possible supporters if he can help it. Women will naturally vote with their male relations and independence in voting will be likely to be confined to those who live away from their families.

I see no reason to think that such women are more moral or more intelligent than men in like position. If a part of the men and a majority of the women united in what were thought better laws, there would be the greatest difficulty in enforcing them. There would be an increase in one of the greatest tendencies of our time, the multiplication of statutes which could not be enforced.

If some women succeeded in getting positions in the highest government service, they would displace so many men. Would this be for the public good? The men in such service having the means usually have families. The women occupying like positions could not do this.

6. The argument that I have heard most frequently from female suffragists is that the change is sure to come. They say that slavery was abolished after long agitation, and after a like or less contest their reform will be adopted. I am no prophet. The forces which govern society are too mysterious for me to say what the future will unfold. But I have heard like predictions too often to be much impressed. I hardly remember an important election, national, state, or municipal, in which both sides did not cheer themselves with the most confident predictions of success.

Three times the devotees of Bryan and cheap money have gone to their defeat, boasting on the very night before election of assured victory. Unfounded boasts of sure success are the staple on which demagogues and other agitators have fed their deluded victims in all ages. But success or

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failure is not the question which should be most considered in contemplating a vital change in government. Upright men will consider chiefly the effect of the change.

Objections to Woman Suffrage.

These are objections to woman suffrage:

1. It would greatly increase the expense of all elections. There would be double the number of persons whose votes would have to be sought. An increase in the expense of seeking office would tend to diminish the number of prudent men engaging in this pursuit.

It would tend to confine office seeking to the rich, or to the poor, whose time is worth nothing. So far as such additional expenses would be borne by the state, it would increase the taxes. The constant increase of taxes in our day is a serious evil. The poor must bear their share, or they may feel no restraint in taxing others. And if it were possible that all the increase were directly borne by the rich, the poor would suffer indirectly. It ought never to be forgotten that all the money spent is spent directly or indirectly for labor. What the rich contribute to the government they cannot spend, and the question always arises how far the government uses the money for a better class of labor than the taxpayers would have employed.

The poor who do not work for the government must suffer with every increase in taxes, since the funds they would otherwise receive are diverted.

2. It is not likely that suffrage would help women. The individuals who are now getting occupation and notoriety by advocating the proposed change would lose that employment. In discussing public questions thereafter, they would suffer as they do now, from competition with men. They have not the strength for the intense activity and endeavor required for the scrambles of political life. If they could act together, which is very improbable, they would get some political positions by bargaining with the great parties, but their inability to fill the highest offices would soon be apparent.

Women are willingly excluded from large fields of human activity. They cannot be soldiers. They do not desire to work in the ditches or even on farms. In savage and half civilized countries they have had to work at the most menial and laborious employments. In enlightened nations they have been delivered from these occupations by the growing tendency of civilized man to pity their weakness. Nature has given woman one occupation and burden which they alone can discharge. They alone can bear children. The burden is a great and dangerous one, but it cannot be avoided if human life is to go on. And if the human race is to be improved, the best women must bear this burden. But everything possible ought to be done to alleviate their suffering. Prospective and actual mothers ought to be treated with the greatest tenderness. Women are also best, if not exclusively fitted for the nurture and education of young children. And many who have no children can find full employment in aiding those who have.

Again, if there are to be homes, women must make them. Those of the sex who will have other occupations must submit to the competition of men and take that place which comes from their weakness and the excess of competition produced by their numbers.

3. Woman suffrage would not be likely to give us better governments. The mere doubling of the vote would not help. Our cities and states are no better managed now than when they had half of the present voters. If female suffrage is to improve the government, it must be because the voters will be better and not merely more numerous. What qualities in the voters are most necessary? Among them are these:

1. Respect for the law; willingness to abide by the decision of the proper authorities, even where they seem unjust. Everyone claims to be ready to submit to justice. And men often talk as though justice were a definite thing, with a well understood meaning. The truth is that we differ in nothing more than what we call justice and if everyone is to insist on his own views at all hazards, society must be in a state of anarchy. Because of the difference of opinion as to what justice requires, laws have been established and courts to administer them, and there can be no peace save in submission to the law and its authorized ministers, even where we think they are plainly wrong.

Law has no certainty unless it consists of general rules applicable to many cases, and in particular instances the application will be harsh. But unless such general rules are adhered to, every decision must be the result of the perhaps transient feeling of the judge or jury, and we shall have what all thoughtful men have always condemned, a government of men, and not of laws.

2. In order to save popular government the voters must have the power to look at men and measures in some degree dispassionately and be governed by a constitution of ultimate consequences and not merely by passion.

We all know the insanity which possesses mobs. Even when they may be largely composed of men individually well meaning, they disregard the law and the commonest notions of justice in obedience to some unreasonable impulse, intensified by their numbers.

One of the greatest dangers of popular government is that with our instantaneous means of communication, the people may become like a mob and inflamed by the passionate appeals of orators and newspapers everywhere repeated, decide some great question of war or internal policy with no thought of consequences.

3. Stability of opinion is one of the first requisites of good government. Government officials can be of little use unless they can stay in power long enough to show in practice the effect of their measures. Business men can prosper under almost any laws, however unwise, if they only know what they are. They may suffer more from constant change than from any bad laws.

The elements of constant disturbance exist in all popular government. The strife for power is universal and intense. Those who are out of office seek it by denouncing the laws in force and proclaiming the changes they would make. They try to inflame the passions of one part of the community against another, and especially of the poor against the rich, stirring up bitter contests even where their interests are identical.

Is there any reason to think that in any one of these important matters woman suffrage would improve the electorate?

Do women have respect for law where it conflicts with their notions of justice? Let the records of the custom house answer.

Do they calmly consider both sides of a question before they come to a decision? Will they resist dangerous opinions which are popular? Who will answer these questions in the affirmative?

Have they stability of opinions? In the matter of religious prejudices it is often thought that they have and their prejudices may at times be of great value. But in matters of government, have they even any prejudices which will correct the fickleness of their male relatives and friends? No one can safely answer in the affirmative.

PROF. C. H. KENT of Michigan.

EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE BEGUN IN EARNEST IN MICHIGAN

Some of the Detroit newspapers are called to account in this article (reproduced from "The Detroit Saturday Night" of January 18) for unfairness in misquoting Mrs. George How she met the rapid-fire questions of her audience is here reported correctly.

FOR the first time since woman suffrage became an issue in Michigan, the women who are opposed to it have begun to make an organized appeal to public opinion. The meeting held on Thursday of last week in the Hotel Pontchartrain, when the convention hall was crowded to the doors and the corridors filled, was the strongest blow yet struck against woman suffrage in Michigan. Mrs. Henry F. Lyster of Detroit acted as temporary chairman, the chief speaker being Mrs. A. J. George of Brookline, Mass. Mrs. George made a vigorous and dispassionate statement of the case against suffrage and answered many questions asked her by some of the suffragists who were present in good numbers. With the organization of an anti-suffrage society in Michigan it is probable that this issue will now be raised to the plane of intelligent and accurate discussion.

Mrs. George had two experiences in Detroit that show the need of a more thorough canvass of the question of woman suffrage than this State has yet enjoyed. First of all, one of the newspapers put the idiotic statement in her mouth that "statistics show that two-thirds of the women employed in gainful pursuits are 12 years old or less." Thereupon the same newspaper based a leading editorial urging this as a good argument for woman suffrage and criticising Mrs. George for not recognizing it as such. That anybody should thus be made the victim of a reportorial blunder or that such a blunder should not be identified by any of the members of the editorial sanctum is not unusual as it ought to be. Of course, Mrs. George did not say anything of the kind. What she did say was that the United States census showed that "one-third of the women gainfully employed are under 21 years of age."

Mrs. George's second experience was with a leading Detroit suffragette, who corrected Mrs. George for saying that Dorothy Dix was an anti-suffragist. Dorothy Dix is a newspaper writer of the present generation. The woman whom Mrs. George mentioned was "Dorothea Dix, who cleaned up the prisons and the insane asylums and meanwhile pleaded that her sex should keep out of partisan politics."

These two incidents alone are a fair indication of the need of further education in the facts and history of woman's work and functions in the world.

In introducing Mrs. George at last week's meeting, Mrs. Lyster said:

"Like ancient Gaul, the question of woman suffrage seems to be divided into three parts. There are those who desire it, those who are opposed to it, and between these two, a large body of otherwise intelligent women, who have given the matter no thought, and are absolutely indifferent, failing to realize that their supineness may result in an additional responsibility being laid upon the already overburdened shoulders of women.

"The first class mentioned above includes many who hold widely diverse opinions, ranging all the way from Socialists, who consider that marriage should be classed among the movable feasts, that children should be taken from their parents and educated by the State, to the many excellent women holding firmly and in all sincerity to the belief that in 'votes for women' is to be found the panacea for all social and political ills.

"Counting among this latter class many warm personal friends, and respecting the sincerity of these views, however mistaken we may think them, it is hoped that the discussion of this subject, now or at any other time, may be conducted without bitterness or recrimination. If this can be achieved, one might almost believe that the millenium, which we are promised when votes for women are obtained, had ante-dated that period. It is sometimes said by men who wish to be obliging, and most men do: 'If women wan to vote, let them try—see how it works,' forgetting that 'the Gods themselves cannot take back their gifts,' and that once bestowed, the franchise is given for better or worse, and who can deny that the unrestricted franchise is anything but a blessing?

"The branch of the National Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage, which it is proposed to form in Michigan, will have for its objects:

"First, the bringing together of women who do not desire the franchise, giving them courage to express their opinions and to use their influence upon the men with whom they are associated, and to disseminate such information as may enable them to do so intelligently.

"Second, to impress upon the men in whose hands lies our fate the fact that the majority of women do not desire the responsibility of voting thrust upon them at the bidding of a minority of their sex—an able, vigorous, aggressive minority, but still a minority—as is evidenced by the universal opposition of the Suffragist party to any proposal to submit the question first to women as to whether or no they wish to vote, before asking for the amendment to the constitution enabling them to do so.

"Those who have hitherto been contented to be mere lookers on must realize that the time has come when no woman, who stands for the old ideals of love of country, home and family, can longer be indifferent to what is going on around her. Those of us who dread and shrink from the publicity attending any efforts to oppose the campaign for extending suffrage to women must take courage and try and make the men to whom our final appeal must be made, realize that the majority of women do not desire the extension of suffrage, believing that it would be, with all that it entails, an evil for the State, the home and the individual."

(Some of the questions answered by Mrs. George.)

Question—What is your authority for the statement that only 25 per cent of the women of San Francisco voted in November?

Answer—The Commissioner of the Department of Elections in San Francisco, who writes: "Number of women 21 years of age and over in San Francisco, 121,318; number of women registered for election of November 5, 1912, 47,005 (about 39 per cent of the number over 21); number of women who voted at election of November 5, about two-thirds of those registered. Number of men registered, 89,909; about two-thirds of those men registered voted." Two-thirds of 39 per cent is somewhere between 25 and 26 per cent.

Q.—Women are natural housekeepers. Why do the Anti-Suffragists wish to impose the National, State and Municipal housekeeping upon the men?

A.—Women may be natural housekeepers, but many of them have gone a long way from nature and we need to remember the words of that great Chinese woman, Dr. Yamei Kin: "I think there will be a great reaction toward home and family life instead of the present agitation against the sacrifice and so-called narrowness of woman's sphere." When women have shown some sign of solving the domestic servant problem and have run their own households with greater efficiency, it will be time to talk of municipal housekeeping. Education in prevention is the great need of our times. It may be interesting to urge the passage of pure food laws; it certainly is necessary, but we should remember that the highest authority on domestic science, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, has told us that 75 per cent of food contamination takes place in our own kitchens.

Q.—Who is doing Mrs. George's home work while she is lecturing?

A.—This is a personal question and one which no man would ask of an opponent and well illustrates the personalities and the mud-slinging which we may expect if women get into politics.

Q.—How do you answer Miss Jane Addams' argument for equal suffrage, that the social service agencies instituted by women and taken over by the State need continued mothering and watching by women?

A.—No one honors Miss Addams' splendid public work more than I, but I do not happen to follow her policies. In the argument which is presented, Miss Addams contends that when social service agencies which have been carried on by private initiative are taken into politics, the women lose control of them; therefore, in order to continue the "mothering and watching" by women, Miss Addams proposes to put women into politics and have more politics in the social service agencies. Are we so sure that all women are going to vote so much more wisely than all men? Is it not possible to have our oversight by a commission on which women shall be appointed—women who have no personal, political ambition and who are outside of party politics?

Q.—Do the women on the Anti-Suffrage platform find that public speaking and campaigning interfere with home duties and tend to unsex them?

A.—Yes; and the only justification for this activity is that we seek to establish our right to live our lives and render our portion of service to the State along lines which we believe are peculiarly fitted to woman's abilities, which are in no way inferior to man's.

Q.—What reasons have Anti-Suffragists for assuming that having the ballot would lessen the desire among women for wifehood and motherhood?

A.—The publication of the English militant suffragettes are sufficient answer to this question; and the declaration of an officer of the National Suffrage Association that "thinking, intelligent people are agreed that the wife should be economically independent" points to the undoubted fact that the Suffragists, the majority of them, look upon the *individual* as the unit of society and *not upon the family.* Mrs. Ida Husted Harper has said, "there is not a single forward step of woman that has not been blocked by the words, 'wifehood and motherhoor.'"

Q.—If the Anti-Suffragists can do so much without the ballot, why have they not wiped out child labor in New York and in New England States when conditions for working children are so bad?

A.—I have already tried to show that the child-labor laws in these States were in advance of those in States where women vote.

Mr. McKelway, of the National Child Labor Bureau, says that Massachusetts has the best child-labor law in the Union, taking into consideration the provisions of the law, our compulsory education law, and our factory inspection system, including age certificates for minors.

Q.—Why do you think it more womanly to bring about legislation indirectly than to use your vote to do so?

A.—The question is not one of womanliness. It is a question of expediency and efficiency. The Suffragists are always charging us with using indirect ways. My answer to that is, if we are anything we are direct. It is the men, who, because they belong to this or that party, must placate some man on the other side—not we. The men go to their party leader and through him they get at the committee they wish to influence. We go straight to the governor, the chairman of the committee, the mayor, or whover is in highest authority. We have no favors to give and none to ask. If there is anything indirect in this procedure it lies beyond my powers of discernment.

Mrs. George was asked six questions dealing with the support given the Anti-Suffragists by the liquor interests. The substance of her reply was the experience of the wets under woman suffrage. Los Angeles, which nearly went dry two years ago, went wet by 14,000 as soon as the women got the vote, though 2,000 more women voted than men. Pasadena, which was dry during its entire history, went wet when the women began to vote. In 1906 and again in 1908 the voters of Oregon defeated woman suffrage and a pro-liquor measure at the same election by substantially the same majorities.

The *New York World* says editorially:

THE MANIA FOR BABY CULTURE.

At a meeting of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, a speaker who made a really noteworthy address is quoted as saying: "There are 35,000,000 children in the United States to-day who are nobody's business. If they go wrong, who's to blame?" The phrase is not to be judged too severely. It was not intended to have the strictness of statistics but the rapture of round numbers used rhetorically. But on the same day as the speech, there was submitted to the Governor of New Jersey an official report from the Board of Children's Guardians on "the alarming increase in the number of children placed in care of the board by parents last year."

The two statements present some of the results of the present unprecedented craze for coddling, nursing, educating, training, supervising, legislating and experimenting with babies and children. Time was when the care of a child was left to the mother, the nurse, the teacher and the family doctor. But now the whole world makes it a business to look after him. Scientists, sociologists, statesmen, philosophers, labor unions, suffragists, settlement workers, Congressmen, legislators, Aldermen, courts, and Judges, State bureaus, educators, policemen, patent medicine men, breakfast food fiends, muck rakers and the makers of ready-made garments are all caring for the baby. There have been more laws and ordinances about babies and children in the last fifty years than in the previous fifty centuries. Is it any wonder the mother abandons the task and turns the child over to a State Board of Guardians?

THE COWARD'S CHRISTMAS

By Leslie Mortimer.

LET us for a moment watch the Coward on her way.

It is a cold, frosty night, but the stars are gleaming in the sky. A bright moon sails through the clouds. It is a night that the rich love, nestled in their warm and costly fur. It is a night that spells death to the poor and desolate.

A little, red-armed, red-cheeked maid servant opens the door of a house in a small street. She can hardly walk for chilblains, and they cover her small, cold hands. But she has warmth in her heart and a smile on her poor cracked lips. She has worked from five o'clock in the morning till ten o'clock at night, and has at last wrung permission from a harsh mistress to "run to the post for a minute." She has saved a whole pound out of her wretched earnings to send to the poor old mother far away. It will give her meat and drink and a warm shawl and a bright fire. . . . She smiles happily as she slips the letter into the box. . .

But the Coward is close by, and she holds a little bottle in her hand.

. . . . . .

Soon an old man comes by and drops a letter in. His lips are quivering. He is an old General who has fought England's battles bravely, and is now making a desperate appeal to his one and only son. Tears are rolling down his cheeks.

"Oh, come back to us, my dear son, and forgive me if I have ever been harsh or unjust to you. Your mother is dying. She cannot last very long. She cries perpetually for you. She is delirious now, but all she says is 'Harry! *Harry!! HARRY!!!*' Oh! for God's sake, come!"

He walks away, his wistful face turned to God's stars above.

And ever nearer comes the Coward with her bottle.

. . . . . .

A young man comes quickly by and shoots a letter into the box without looking at it. There is agony on his face, too.

"Darling! darling!! *darling!!!* Can you forgive me? Can you ever look into my face again? Write me a line to the old place. How could I ever have mistrusted you! Dearest—the old love is still there."

. . . . . .

"Mother darling, only *think!* Uncle Robert gave me ten pounds the other day! So I am sending it on at once. Isn't it dear of him? And now you won't be worried about the rent and Reggie's little worn-out shoes, will you? Oh, how I do pray that this may be the beginning of real happiness for you—for you who have suffered and sacrificed so much."

. . . . . .

"DEAR SIR,

"Perhaps you were right, and the will was an unjust one. I have thought over all you have said, and have reconsidered things. I now have added a codicil which will, perhaps, set things right. I post it to you in case I may change my mind—or die—one never knows. And I feel ill to-night."

He died early in the morning, and the will that was to set things right was never found.

For the Coward was very near the box now.

. . . . . .

"DARLING GRANNY,

"I am eight years old and you have never seen me. Think of that! Mummy and I are very lonely now that Daddy is dead. But she has never regretted marrying him. We were all so happy till last Christmas, when he went to sleep one day and never woke up. Mummy says he was a great and good and noble man. . . . Mummy says she has never left off hoping and hoping and hoping that some day you will forgive her. She says that I am just like Grandpa in books, and that *you* will know what that means.

"She says if he had been alive it would all have been different. He would have forgiven. But you cannot. . . . Granny! This is all a little piece out of my own head. Mummy is *starving*, and we have no fire, and hardly any clothes. She works all day long and never stops. But for a year we haven't had nearly—not *nearly* enough to eat. She is too proud to tell, but I know she wishes she was your little girl once more. And you are so rich. If you could give us even *half-a-crown* we could have some dinner. . ."

A stern, haughty, selfish old woman is eating her heart out in her rich and lonely castle, for some news of the daughter whom she cast out because she married the man she loved. If only Muriel would write—even a line. And then there was the little boy! But she never got the line, and she never saw the little boy, or read the sad little letter. How could she with the Coward so close at hand?

. . . . . .

"You say that you are out of work through no fault of your own. If you can give me good references come to my office at 3:30 to-morrow afternoon. Don't be a second late. Punctuality counts with me."

The writer of the last letter returned to dinner at his private house next evening and laughed a little bitterly.

"What's the matter, my dear?" asked his wife.

"Oh, these Unemployed," he said. "They make me sick! I saw the likeliest chap I've ever met a few days back. Looked as if he'd come to the edge of all things and was just going to drop over. Alf's age, too"—(Alf was his dead son)—"and his eyes just lighted up with hope when I said I might take him. Wrote a letter to appoint a time for him to come—and the rogue never answered even! Lord, that's the last time I'll ever be such a softy! He'd a look of Alf, too," he added rather chokily, as he wrestled with his tie. . . .

His wife kissed him silently, and they went down to dinner hand in hand.

. . . . . .

A little later on a slight, handsome woman walked rapidly towards the box and slipped in a thin, flat parcel. It was a type-written story, addressed to the editor of a well-known magazine. As the woman turned her lovely face to the stars, her expression was a prayer.

"He *must* take it," she thought wildly. "My brain is on fire. I wrote it with my heart's blood."

But what would the Coward care for *that?*

She drew quite close to the box—and emptied into it a dark fluid—dark as her own soul—which successfully destroyed everything in it.

. . . . . .

And now, oh Coward, let us see what your Christmas Box has done for England!

The little maid-servant's mother never got her pound. And, afar off in her wretched cottage, with the rain coming in at the roof and door, she sobbed and cried in the darkness, that even her Annie had deserted her!

——————— *Continued on next page* ———————

Women in Industry and Politics a Menace to the Nation

"Man has enormously emphasized the importance of his job, the getting of a living. He is sacrificing not only his own highest culture to it; but he has forced woman to leave her natural vocation and come to help him in his pursuit of a material fortune. He has stolen her home industries from her, only to commercialize them, and now he has also stolen her, herself, enticing her into workshop, office and factory, there to be exploited by him.

"She is showing herself an easy, short-sighted victim. She rejoices in her servitude to commercialism. Her demand for the vote is made in its name. She assumes that in ever increasing numbers, she must wear out her life tending machines, thumping typewriters, and serving customers. And so she asks for the vote as a means to make that life more tolerable. Having been deluded by money-grubbing men into playing his dollar game to his advantage, she foolishly imagines that she can beat his game through politics. But she will only make her position worse, for nature declares, with inexorable insistence, that woman cannot compete with man in either bread winning or state ruling.

"Her labor is producing a false appearance of prosperity. Never were so many people well-dressed, living in good houses and enjoying three square meals a day. And also, never were suicide and insanity increasing so fast nor the proportion of defective children so high. Women in industry means the decay of the race. And what shall it profit a nation to heap up riches while the race rots? Woman has been buncoed into exchanging her home kingdom for the brick of economic independence and proposes further to sell her birthright for a mess of politics.

"Her instincts tell her that her place in life is at the core, not at the circumference. It is the strife between her instincts and the sophistries she hears which completes her confusion and unrest.

"Woman in politics is only an appendage to woman in industry. Woman in industry is a menace to the nation. The more a woman is paid the less likely she is to marry. The abler the woman the fewer children, for she postpones marriage while she is having a good time and waiting for a man with double her salary to undertake to support her. Thus the race is robbed of its best strains. Meanwhile the weaklings plentifully reproduce themselves.

"When a smart young man receives a big salary it is a good thing for the race. He can marry and transmit his smartness to posterity. When a young woman receives a big salary it means disaster for the race, and the wiser, handsomer, more efficient the woman is to-day the more likely she is to have a salary instead of a husband. You couldn't run a chicken farm on those principles. Suppose you took all the best hens and set them aside to go to college or run a feather factory for the hens. It's a tragedy.

"It has taken the race millions of years to produce the high salaried women of today, and now those qualities are allowed to perish. The spark carried through the centuries is snuffed out by a salary.

"Of course, the suffragists say they believe in the home. Nobody except the Shaker openly says he doesn't believe in the home, but the whole tide of human events is away from the home, and the suffragists don't protest. There are 35,000,000 children in the United States to-day who are nobody's business. If they go wrong where is the blame? The home blames the street, the street the newspapers, the newspapers the mayor, the mayor the schools, the schools the father, the father the mother—and the mother is being taught to blame the laws and to demand a vote to change them. Whatever good influence a mother may exert, says the suffragist, is outweighed by the influence of the street. Who made the street, I say, but other mothers who have not done their work well? Water seeks its own level. If women want the stream of public life to rise higher they themselves must go higher, for out of them it springs."—*Mrs. John Martin at Anti-Suffrage Meeting.*

The *New York Times* says of this meeting:

There have been rumors that the anti-suffragists had tired of their cause and, in view of the prodigious growth of the female suffrage movement, had retired from the field. But the enthusiasm displayed at the meeting of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in the Berkeley Lyceum Thursday night shows that the rumors were based on false hopes. The anti-suffrage women are still alert. A forcible and logical speech by Mrs. John Martin gave impetus to their campaign of opposition. Mrs. Martin recognizes the gravity of the suffrage movement "as one manifestation of the feminist movement brought about by the entrance of women into industry."

The Coward's Christmas

Continued from preceding page

The old General's wife never met her son again—the Coward saw to that!

The lovers—who were made for one another—never "kissed again with tears." And in Heaven there is no marrying nor giving in marriage.

The "Mother darling" who was to get ten pounds to pay the rent with and buy some more shoes for poor little Reggie's ill-clad feet—well, we know what the Coward did with that!

The will that was to make "all things right"—what chance had it in the hands of the Coward Suffragette?

"Darling Granny" never saw her little grandchild, and the daughter starved to death unknown.

As for the "unemployed," who lived for weeks on the hope of receiving a letter from the kind-faced business man—well, he ended in the Thames, which is a watery, chilly place to spend one's Christmas Eve in. He was identified, curiously enough, by the business man, whose card he had in his pocket. There was nobody else to identify him. And on the card was written in red ink—NO HOPE. . . .

"Wonder why he never wrote? I offered him a job," said the business man, blowing his nose, as he regarded the sharp features and emaciated frame.

. . . . . .

The slight, handsome woman who had posted a small parcel that day, went home and waited. At first with hope, for the story was clever and had been written with the blood and tears that publishers so often call ink.

But she waited too long. She was starving. There is always one trade at which a starving woman can earn her bread. We all know what that is.

And now, oh Coward, having drunk the blood of the poor in body, the tears of the agonized in heart—are you satisfied?

No. I think you are not satisfied. That is only one pillar-box out of many—and there are many of you.

But to the greatest Coward of all, hiding safely in your Paris rat-hole, I say "A Happy, *Happy* New Year to you." For you have drunk of the blood and tears of harmless human beings.—English Anti-Suffrage Review, January.

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared

COLORADO.	MICHIGAN
1. Forbidding the insuring of lives of children under ten years of age.	1. No mention.
2. Establishing a home for dependent children, two of the five members of the Board of Control to be women.	2. Dependent, neglected and delinquent children under the jurisdiction of the Probate Court. In each Coounty an agent for the State Board of Corrections and Charities appointed by Governor to act for them. P. A. Extra Session, 1907, Act 6. Women inspectors appointed by Governor. C. L., 1897, Chap. 80.
3. Requiring three of the six members of the county visitors to be women.	3 The State Board of Corrections and Charities has general supervision over penal, pauper and reformatory institutions. Governor may appoint one or more suitable females to personally visit and inspect certain State institutions on behalt of State Board of Corrections and Charities. C. L., 1897, Chap. 80.
4. Making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father.	4. Father has custody of minor and is guardian. The Judge of the Probate Court may remove the father and appoint the mother or other suitable person when father is unfit. C. L., 1897, Sec. 8689, and Sections 8701, 8702. In case of separation mother is entitlted to custody of children under 12 years. C. L., 1897, Par. 8689.
5. Raising the age of protection for girls to 18 years.	5. Age of consent, 16 years. C. L., 1897, Par. 11489.
6. Requiring one woman physician on the board of insane asylums.	6. At least one woman physician to be employed at each insane asylum and industrial home for girls, home for feeble-minded and epileptics, and in all like institutions which may hereafter be established, and also school for deaf and school for the blind. P. A., 1899, Act 185, Par. 281.
7. Establishing parallel schools.	7. Truant Act provides for compulsory education. P. A., 1905, Act 200, p. 296; amended P. A., 1907, 1909, 1911.
8. Making Humane Society State Bureau for child and woman protection.	8. Incorporation of societies for prevention of cruelty to children. C. L., 1897, Chap 229, amended P. A., 1909, Act 287. The society can appoint an agent in each County, who has the power to arrest anyone violating the laws for the protection of children. Act providing for the incorporation of Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. C. L., 1897, Pars. 8419 and 8425.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.	9. Juvenile Court established. P. A., 1905, Act 312, and amended P. A., 1907, and P. A., 1907, extra session.
10. Compulsory education with certain questionable exemptions.	10. Compulsory Education.
11. No mention.	11. Industrial Education Commission appointed. P. A., 1909, Act 228. Commission to make report on elementary, industrial and agricultural education in the State.
12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.	12. Father and mother joint heirs of child.
13. Establishing traveling libraries.	13. Establishing traveling libraries. C. L., 1897, Par. 1778.
14. Employing children under 14 in smelter, etc., punishable by imprisonment.	14. No male under the age of 18 years and no female of any age shall be employed in any factory, mill, warehouse, workshop, clothing, dressmaking or millinery establishment or any place where the manufacture of any kind of goods is carried on or where any goods are prepared for manufacture, or in any laundry store, shop or any other mercantile es-

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Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared

	MICHIGAN. (both columns) MICHIGAN.	COLORADO.	MICHIGAN.
	Secction 14 continued from preceding page.	*From preceding page*	
	tablishment for a period longer than an average of nine hours a day or fifty-four hours in any week, nor more than ten hours in any one day. No female under the age of 18 years shall be employed in any maufacturing establishment between the hours of 6 o'clock p. m. and 6 o'clock a. m. No child under the age of 16 years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment or workshop, mine or messenger service in this State between the hours of 6 o'clock p. m. and 6 o'clock a. m. No child under the age of 18 years shall be employed between the hours of 10 o'clock p. m. and 5 o'clock a. m. in the transmission, distribution or delivery of messages or merchandise. P. A., 1911, No. 220, p. 384. No child under the age of 21 years shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work in any theatre, concert hall or place of amusement where intoxicating liquors are sold, and no child under the age of 14 years shall be employed in any mercantile institution, store, office, hotel, laundry, manufacturing establishment, passenger or freight elevator, factory or workshop, telegraph or messenger service within the State of Michigan. No minor to be employed between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. in any manufacturing establishment or workshop and unlawful to hire or employ any minor under the age of 16 years without filing a sworn statement made by the parent or guardian, stating the age, date and place of birth of said child and that the child can read and write English language. In Detroit and Grand Rapids sworn statement required to be made before a deputy factory inspector. P. A., 1907, No. 169, Sec. 2, p. 223. No female under the age of 21 and no male under the age of 18 shall be employed by any person, firm or corporation at employment whereby his or her life or limb is in danger, or health likely to be injured or morals may be depraved, and no such male or female shall be allowed to clean machinery while in motion. P. A., 1907, No. 169, Sec. 3, p. 224. No room or appartment of any tenement or dwelling to be used for manufacturing purposes without a license from the factory inspector and at least two hunded and fifty (250) cubic feet of air to be provided for each person employed therein; and no work to be done in any room or apartment used for sleeping or living purposes or connected with rooms used for such purposes. P. A., 1907, No. 169, Sec. 17, p. 224. The factory inpector may demand a health certificate from any minor under 16, and if not given, can prohibit the employment of the minor. P. A., 1901, No. 113, Sec. 4, p. 158. At least one factory inspector must be a woman. P. A., 1901, No. 113, Sec. 12, p. 160. A fine or imprisonment or both imposed for violation of the above provisions. P. A., 1901, No. 113, Sec. 18, p. 162.		
15.		Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of homestead, etc.	Certain household property exempt from execution. Any chattel mortgage, bill of sale or other lien created on such property is void unless the instrument is signed by the wife. C. L., 1897, Pars. 10322 and 10359. Homestead exempt from sale on execution and mortgage or other alienation shall not be valid without the signature of the wife. Homestead exempt from debts after death of owner during minority of children. If the owner of a homestead die, leaving a widow but no children, such homestead shall be exempt and the rents and profits accrue to her during the time of her widowhood. Constitution, Article XIV.
16.		Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child. Parents being made responsible but no proof of age is required other than the affidavit of parent or guardian.	Any person responsible for encouraging, causing or contributing to delinquency of a child, upon conviction, is subject to a fine of $100 or 90 days in the County jail or both. P. A., 1907, No. 314, p. 445.
17.		Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents.	Law requires child to support poor parents. C. L., 1897, Chap. 110.
18.		Abolishing the system of binding out girls committed to Industrial Schools.	Boys and girls, when sufficiently reformed, may be bound out to suitable persons who will engage to educate and instruct them in the proper art or trade and household work. C. L., 1897, Pars. 2199, 2213.
19.		No mention.	State University — coeducation.
20.		No mention.	Wife is absolutely entitled to have, hold, own, retain and enjoy all earnings acquired by her as a result of her per-

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared

COLORADO.	MICHIGAN.
	sonal efforts and to make contracts in relation thereto to the same extent as if unmarried. P. A., 1907, No. 196, p. 330. Real and personal estate of every woman acquired by marriage, and all property to which she may afterwards become entitled, becomes and remains her property and shall not be liable for the debts of husband, and may be devised or bequeathed by her as if she were unmarried. Constitution, Article XVI, Sec. 1.
21. No mention.	21. Policy on life of husband payable to wife is free from debts of husband. C. L., 1897, Par. 7212.
22. No mention.	22. Gives right of action to any wife, child, parent, guardian, husband or other person who has been injured by sale or gift of liquor by reason of intoxication of any person. C. L., 1897, Par. 5398.
23. No mention.	23. Wife may be executrix administratrix of estate of husband.
24. No mention.	24. Wife or next of kin can recover for death of husband due to neglect of employer. C. L., 1897, Par. 10427.
25. No mention.	25. Wife has absolute control of separate property acquired either before or after marriage.
26. No mention.	26. One of factory inspectors whose duty it is to enforce laws relative to employment of women and children must be a woman. P. A., 1901, No. 113.
27. No mention.	27. Establishing free employment bureaus in all cities of 50,000 or over. P. A., 1907, Act 281, p. 336.
28. No mention.	28. Industrial school for girls under control of board of three, at least one of whom shall be a woman. C. L., 1897, Par. 2218. Woman physician to be employed. P. A., 1901, No. 85.
29. No mention.	29. School for the feeble-minded. P. A., 1909, No. 101. Woman physician to be employed. P. A., 1901, No. 185.
30. Women have equal suffrage.	30. Women may vote at all school elections. On any question involving the direct expenditure of public money or the issue of bonds, women taxpayers may vote. Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 4. Women taxpayers also have right to vote on question whether city or village may acquire public utility or grant any public utility franchise. Constitution, Art. VIII, Sec. 25.

ADDITIONAL GOOD LAWS OF MICHIGAN.

1. Workmen's Compensation Act, P. A., 1912, Extra Session, No. 10.
2. No female may be imprisoned on any process in any civil action, C. L., 1897, Par. 10342.
3. No female allowed to act as barkeeper or to serve liquors or furnish music or dance in any saloon or barroom where liquors are sold. C. L., 1897, Pars. 536-, 5364.
4. All persons employing females in stores, shops, offices or manufactories required to provide seats and must not make rules or regulations preventing the use of such seats. C. L., 1897, Par. 5373.
5. No female allowed to be employed in operating or using emery wheels. P. A., 1905, No. 172, p. 240.
6. Any female person over 21 who has resided in the State six months and in the township 20 days next preceding any election, shall be eligible to the office of school inspector. C. L., 1897, Par. 2882.
7. No property exempt from execution issued on a judgment obtained by any female for work, labor, or services when such amount does not exceed twenty-five ($25) dollars, unless exempted under the Constitution. C. L., 1897, Par. 900.
8. Estates by the courtesy, giving the husband a life interest in the lands of which his wife, deceased, endowed, were abolished in Michigan, by the enactment of the "married woman's act," in 1855.
9. The husband must provide for his wife and in case no provision be made for her in his will, she is entitled to a certain share of his estate. She also has an election: if the provision of the will does not satisfy her, of taking the sum or share of the personal estate that would have passed to her under the Statute of Distributions had the testator died intestate, until the same shall amount to $5,000, and of the residue of the estate one-half of the sum or share that would have passed to her under the Statute of Distributions, had the testator died intestate. C. L., 1897, Par. 9300.
10. The widow is entitled to her dower in the lands of her husband, and if lands are devised to her or other provision made in the will of her husband, she may make an election whether she will take under the will or be endowed with the lands of her husband. C. L., 1897, Pars. 8924, 8925, 8926.

DECLINING VOTE OF WOMEN ON SCHOOL QUESTIONS

In 1879 on an urgent appeal from the the Suffragists the vote for members of the School Committee was given to the women of Massachusetts. Any woman citizen of Massachusetts 21 years of age or over is entitled to register and vote for the candidates for the School Committee. There is no poll tax, no property qualification and the right belongs to all women throughout the Commonwealth. Dr. Hartwell, Secretary of the Statistical Department of the City of Boston has written an interesting comment which shows that *the falling off in women's vote for the School Committee is almost in proportion to the increased demand by suffragists for the vote*. Some women *want* to vote, but when they get the vote, even those who asked for it, do not use it as shown by the Massachusetts situation.

The Boston Globe of Jan. 19, 1913, says:

Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, the city of Boston statistician, has made a study of voting by women in Boston and Massachusetts. Minute analysis of figures obtained from reliable sources and covering a long term of years has led to some interesting conclusions on this subject.

This year's election was the thirty-fourth in which women voters of Boston participated. In the 15 years, 1879-1893, they showed more interest in the election of School Committee than was the case in the 15 years, 1894-1908. In the first period the mean percentage of those who voted to those who were registered was 93.4; in the second period it was 63.7; while for the whole 30 years it was 71.6. For the four years, 1910-1913 (there was no election in 1909), the corresponding percent was 50.0.

The maximum percentage of interest was shown in 1888, when of 20,252 women registered, 19,490 or 92.9 per cent. voted. The minimum per cent of interest—of actual to possible vote—was 34.8 in 1908, when 12,544 were registered and 4,363 voted.

The great irregularity of the distribution of the women voters of Massachusetts in 1910 is strikingly brought out if we determine the number of municipalities in which no women voted and the number in which none registered.

Analysis of the returns for 1910 shows that in 29.7 per cent of the municipalities of the State—in two cities and 103 towns, having 3,467 women registered—not a woman voted in that year. Besides the 105 municipalities just alluded to, there were 69 towns in which no woman either registered or voted, so it appears that out of 354 cities and towns there were only 117, or 49.2 per cent in which woman voted for School Committee in 1910.

Among the 69 towns in which no women registered or voted in 1910, there were two which had upward of 10,000 inhabitants. Southbridge and Methuen. In Peabody and Waymouth, with over 15,000 and 12,000 inhabitants respectively, no women voted, although 41 were registered in the first-named town and 534 in the second. In Dedham with over 9,000 inhabitants 55 women registered, but none voted. In Braintree with over 8,000 inhabitants, but three were registered, none of whom voted. Northbridge in the same class had 18 registered women voters who did not vote.

Comparison of the returns of last Tuesday's election, with those of the previous 12 city elections in Boston in the period 1900-1912 (there was no city election in 1909), shows that the interest of the women voters in this year's election was extremely languid. The average number of women registered for the 12 preceding elections was 14,483, whereas the number registered in Wards 1-25 for the election of 1913 was 10,860, or 3,623 below the average for the period. Not since 1899, when the registration was 10,385, has the registration of women in Boston been so low as in this year.

Last Tuesday's vote by women in Wards 1-25, was 4,887, or 8,642 below the average for the 12 preceding elections. This year's vote is the smallest but one of its class since 1887—the vote of 1908, viz, 4,363, being the only other vote below 5,000 since 1887.

Analysis of this year's returns by wards discloses the fact that in every one of the 26 wards fewer women registered and fewer voted than was the case in 1912. Curiously enough both registration and votes cast in 1912 in Wards 1-25 showed an increase of 672 over 1911. In the same wards in 1913 there was a decrease of 1081 in registration and of 1315 in votes cast, as compared with 1912.

In 1912 in the city (26 wards) 51-8 per cent of the registered women voted, but in 1913 the corresponding per cent was only 44.4. In 1911 the per cent of votes cast to registration in the city (25 wards) was 49.1. In 1913, for the same wards, it was 45 per cent.

All in all, a survey of the returns of votes by women in Massachusetts and in Boston seems to warrant the conclusion that the school suffrage is but lightly estimated, both by the women at large and the women who register. If the question of granting wider suffrage to women is again submitted to the people we shall see what we shall see.

SUFFRAGE RELIGION—NOT CHRISTIANITY

The recent publication of an inspiring Voter's Prayer in the Christmas Delineator had nothing to do with Woman Suffrage, but it furnishes a text for an enlightening sermon on the methods of Suffrage advocates.

Shortly after this was published there appeared in the newspapers the following dispatch:

> CHICAGO, Dec. 10.—"A woman cannot be a conscientious Christian and a Suffragist also, because of man's monopoly of the Bible and religion," said Mrs. Laura G. Fixon, business manager of the Working Women's Home, last night before the Woman's Party here.
>
> "We cannot accept the Bible as a divine inspiration, because it features the male sex in everything almost to the exclusion of the female," she continued. "Man has usurped almost everything in religion as well as everything else.
>
> "In the Bible that we know, God is represented as man, The Apostles as men, and the angels in Heaven as men, and in it women are commanded to obey their husbands. Suffragists cannot accept the Bible literally as a divine inspiration. We must see that it was written by men at a time when women were their chattels. The position given women in the Bible has kept them from their rights as the equals of men. The Bible needs revision. It is not up-to-date."

Some time after the above dispatch was printed, the newspapers contained the news that one minute prayers for the success of Woman Suffrage would be offered every day at noon by the religiously inclined if a recommendation made by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw is carried out. The article read:

"It would be a good thing," Dr. Shaw said yesterday, "for it would prove that Suffrage agitation is not the irreligious, agnostic, blasphemous thing some people say it is. I don't think it would really cause the Almighty to change His attitude. But then I don't think His attitude needs changing.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Some are born to Suffrage, some achieve Suffrage and some have Suffrage thrust upon them.

Suffragists derive much mirth from referring to Anti-Suffragists as "clinging vines." They forget that the vine is fruitful and the fig-tree was barren.

The following is from the London *Times* advertising page: "Widowed lady asks for advice and help to restrain her two daughters from doing militant Suffrage work. Living in a little country village she has no friends who can bring arguments to bear against her daughters' head-strong intentions."

"If some of women's worst foes are to be found in her own sex some of her best friends are to be found in mine."—Israel Zangwill.

If what Mr. Zangwill says is true why not leave matters in the hands of "her best friends" instead of giving her "worst foes" a chance?

The Suffragette will say: "I have passed thro' the paltry duties of pots and pans, the drudgery of the vulgar kitchen; but I have come out to intellectual liberty." The sound philosopher will answer: "You have never passed thro' the kitchen or you would never call it vulgar." Wiser and stronger women than you have really seen a poetry in pots and pans; naturally, because there is a poetry in them.—Chesterton.

The English militants say they were obliged to resort to violence because it is the only thing Englishmen understand. Judging from results they did not even understand that. Could it be possible that the Suffragettes lacked political insight? Their cause has not been forwarded by their "deliberate" displays of a lawless spirit and their judgment is at least on trial. Having been absolutely untrue to feminine instincts, they have apparently failed to measure up to those of men. A lack of knowledge of human nature is a serious deficiency in those who would rule.

Mr. Lansbury, the woman's champion who gave up his seat in the English Parliament to test the strength of Suffrage sentiment by running as a Suffrage candidate, was decisively defeated and it was one of life's little ironies that a woman who was by mistake put on the register voted against him. Mr. Lansbury stated that in his opinion the large placards circulated by the Anti-Suffrage League, "Women do *not* want to Vote," had much to do with his defeat.

THIS IS A TRUE STORY.

Scene, a bazaar in which there was a gay and attractive, and yellow, Suffrage booth. The day being warm and the door open, into this wandered a tramp—a hobo—begging for a cup of coffee. Said Suffragist No. 1: "Shall we make him *earn* his coffee and placard him 'This can vote and *we* cannot'?" Suffragist No. 2 said: "But what would you do if his wife should come in?" "Oh," replied Suffragist No. 1, "I'd turn *her* out!"

Don't say (O, don't say) that Primitive Man knocked down a woman with a club and carried her away. Why on earth should he? Does the male sparrow knock down the female sparrow with a twig? Does the male giraffe knock down the female giraffe with a palm tree? Why should the male have had to use violence at any time to make the female a female? Why should the woman roll herself in the mire lower than the sow or the she-bear; and profess to have been a slave where all these creatures were creators; where all these beasts were Gods? Do not talk such bosh. I implore you. I supplicate you not to talk such bosh. Utterly and absolutely abolish all such bosh, and we may yet begin to discuss these public questions properly.—Gilbert Chesterton (from his latest essays).

One of the "causes" assigned by the Suffragists for their defeat in Michigan was the fear of the men that they would be deprived of their "liquor." Hence this report from the Grand Rapids (Mich.) *Times* is significant:

Nearly 400 couples enjoyed one of the most successful dancing parties ever given by the Bartenders' Union last night at the Armory. Johnson's orchestra furnished the music and the program consisted of 20 dances, the "Bunny Hug," the "Turkey Trot" and all of the ultra-fashionable atrocities being conspicuous by their absence. Mayor Ellis graced the gathering with his presence, as did a number of the aldermen. A feature which was appreciated by the participants as a whole was the absence of drinks of an intoxicating nature. The dance was the first ever given by the bartenders at which this feature was omitted, and the effect was to make of it a most enjoyable social gathering.

The San Rafael, Cal., Independent of Dec. 24, 1912, contained the following letter:

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE SUFFRAGE VOTE?

Strike of Teachers Threatened in Denver.

A strike of Denver school teachers is not improbable if the Board of Education does not accede to a demand for a raise of salaries soon to be presented. No definite steps have been taken, but there is talk of forming a union after the example of the Chicago teachers.

Miss Bertha Boyer, chairman of the teachers' interest committee of the Grade Teachers' Association, announced yesterday that there was considerable dissatisfaction among the teachers, and that some action would be taken if their demand was not answered.

SUBSCRIBER.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA.

The following cablegram was sent to England by request to be read at a great anti-suffrage demonstration on January 20th. Active opposition is increasing as rapidly in England as in this country.

Cable "Adversaria," London.

> Most cordial greetings to those engaged in work of maintenance of present basis of government. We are doing our best to prevent adoption of woman suffrage in threatened States, encouraged by your activities.
>
> MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,
> President of National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1885

PAMPHLETS

Woman and the Law — By Francis M. Scott
Address Before Constitutional Convention, 1894 — By Hon. Elihu Root
First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895 — By Mrs. Francis M. Scott
The Problem of Woman Suffrage — By Adeline Knapp
Woman's Rights in America — By Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin
A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question — By Miss Emily P. Bissell
Wages and the Ballot — By Mary Dean Adams
Should We Ask for the Suffrage? — By Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer
How Women Can Best Serve the State — By Mrs. Barclay Hazard
The Blank Cartridge Ballot — By Rossiter Hazard
Taxation and Suffrage — By Frederick Dwight
Real Opponents to the Suffrage Movement — By Edward W. Bok
The Relation of the Sexes to Government — By Prof. Edward D. Cope
Do Working Women Need the Ballot? — By Adeline Knapp
Woman's Progress Versus Woman Suffrage — By Helen Kendrick Johnson
What Women Have Actually Done Where they Vote — By Richard Barry
Woman's Relation to Government — By Mrs. William Forse Scott
The Inexpediency of Granting Suffrage to American Women — By Miss Alice Hill Chittenden
The Legal Status of Women — By Mrs. Francis M. Scott
Feminism — By Prof. Dr. Melchinor Palagyi
Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation — By Miss Minnie Bronson
Woman Suffrage in Finland
New Zealand and Australia from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View
The Voice of the People
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 35 West 39th Street, New York City.

Complete set 50 cts. Single copies 5 cts.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) — G. K. Chesterton
Votes for Women (.10) — Frederic Harrison
Woman Adrift ($1.50) — Harold Owen
The Business of Being a Woman ($1.50) — Ida Tarbell
The Ladies Battle ($1.00) — Molly Elliot Seawell
Book of Woman's Power ($1.25)
Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) — Grace Duffield Goodwin
Woman and the Republic (25c.) — Mrs. Rossiter Johnson
Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription $2.00. Office, 154 East 23d Street. Also, THE HOME DEFENDER, Hoquiam, Wash.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women:

Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage — Francis Parkman
Of What Benefit to Woman?
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage — Jeannette L. Gilder
Letter to Legislative Committee — Mrs. Clara T. Leonard
Argument Before Committee — Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells
Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? — Frank Foxcraft
Taxpaying Suffrage — Charles R. Saunders
The Wage-earning Woman and the State — Minnie Bronson
Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and Not to Men
Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage
In Opposition to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (a List of Massachusetts Men)
Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage — Ida M. Tarbell

Pamplets and Leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association

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